

[Constitution as of 1949]

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Chapter XI. Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

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Art. 122. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to work, that is, are guaranteed the right to employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

The right to work is ensured by the socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises and the abolition of unemployment.

Art. 123. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to rest and leisure.

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The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the fixing of the working day for factory and office workers at eight hours and the reduction of the working day to seven or six hours for arduous trades and to four hours in workshops where conditions of work are exceptionally arduous; by the institution of annual vacations with full pay for factory and office workers; and by the provision of a wide network of sanatoria, rest-homes and clubs for the accommodation of the working people.

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Art. 124. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or disability.

This right is ensured by the extensive development of social insurance of factory and office workers at State expense, free medical services for the working people, and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the use of the working people.

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Art. 125. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to education.

This right is ensured by universal compulsory elementary education; by free education up to and including the seventh grade; by a system of state stipends for students of higher educational establishments who excel in their studies; by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language; and by the organization in the factories, State farms and machine and tractor stations and collective farms of free vocational, technical and agronomic training for the working people.

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Art. 126. Women in the Russian SFSR are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life.

The possibility of exercising these rights is ensured to women by granting them an equal right with men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education and by State protection of the interests of mother and child, state aid to mothers of large families and unmarried mothers, maternity leave with full pay and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens.

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Art. 127. Equality of rights of citizens of the Russian SFSR, irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an inalienable law.

Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality and also any propagation of racial or national exclusiveness, hatred and contempt - are punishable by law.

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461 labor tends to respond by a certain degree of apathy and by dis-
interest in the Soviet system, also by a robot-like attitude toward
work. In such conditions neither the "habit of work" nor labor
efficiency can be expected to thrive. Habits are developed and
maintained only in circumstances which bring rewards. And as
long as the political aims of Bolshevik industrial expansion and
militarization have to be achieved by means of abusive regimen-
tation, the working masses might respond by fatigue, disinterest,
and withdrawal,²² just as they did in the days of serfdom.

461 Such circumstances in their own turn dictate increasing Party
626 vigilance and government interference at all levels of produc-
tion. It is increasingly felt that the Party and the government
must rely on over-seers and labor drivers who see to it that the
Party wishes are executed according to the plan. In a thoroughly
politicized society in which labor adopts an apathetic or robot-
like attitude toward work and in which the ruling hierarchy
tends to be composed of power-thirsty, mistrustful and ruthless
professional conspirators, the need of constant Party and gov-
ernment exhorting and watching is always present. There is,
therefore, a strong inclination to increase the watchdog, the
supervisory and the controlling agencies at the expense of the
productive ones. As Pravda itself admits, "On each two workers
there is a superior, a supervisor, or a staff member" (*Na
kazhdykh dvukh rabochikh odin vyshetoyashchy, rukovo-
dyashchy ili obsluzhivayushchy*).²³

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626 The emphasis on controlling, supervising, checking and coun-
ter-checking agencies not only increases the cost of products but
creates unsatisfactory labor-management relations. The tensions
result primarily out of domineering pressures that are exerted
on different levels both against labor and against management.
The supervisory system and pressure methods of the slave-driver
type tend to provoke feelings of humiliation and to create an at-
mosphere of anxiety, resentment and urges of destructive aggres-
sion. In such conditions of oppressive domineering and degrad-
ing submission it is very difficult to develop qualities of social
and personal responsibility, initiative and self-reliance. In an
atmosphere of vigilantism, denunciation, fear and loss of self-
respect, work becomes irritating and frustrating; it does not offer

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much possibility for self-expression, creativeness and personal satisfaction.²⁴

On the other hand an atmosphere of domineering and vigilantism offers a great opportunity for advance to the fanatic Party member as well as to the ambitious and unscrupulous careerist within the labor ranks, and the ranks of technicians and engineers. Even among those managers and foremen who might otherwise have different inclinations, the need to maintain their positions often forces them towards a policy of vigilantism, cynicism and oppressive labor driving.

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THE SYSTEM of dominance, based on economic dependence, social isolation and lack of trust, which has enabled the Bolsheviks to monopolize all social power, has helped them also to force the intellectual strata into unconditional submission to the will of the ruling minority. Just as the land has been collectivized and industrial production governmentalized to make the peasants and the industrial labor dependent upon the Party, so all sources of income in the intellectual fields have been monopolized by the Party-state to make the intellectuals completely dependent for their lives and livelihoods upon the ruling faction of the Bolsheviks. The office tenure of this new service nobility has been conditioned upon their blind submission to the rulers in the Kremlin, just like in the days of the old dvorianstvo.

The educated strata are of a special strategic importance from the point of view of self-perpetuation of the Bolsheviks in power, because it is these strata that provide ideological and political leadership and Party cadres. The party has endeavored therefore to make the intelligentsia even more socially split and dependent

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